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J. H. Langenwaller

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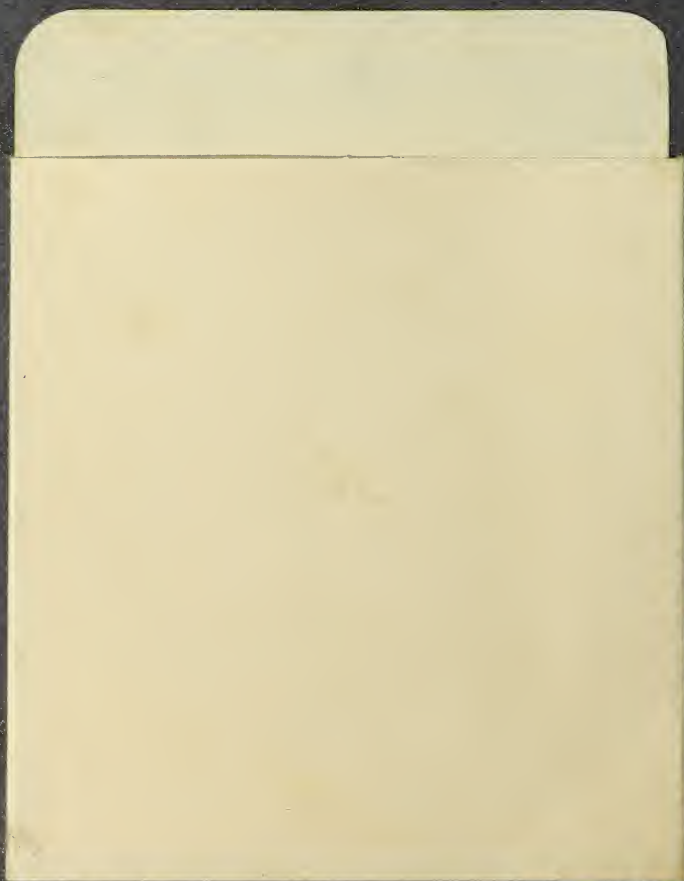
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IMMIGRATION OF
ANNONITES INTO
NORTH AMERICA

Langenwalter, D. D.



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THE IMMIGRATION OF MENNONITES INTO NORTH AMERICA

J. H. Langenwalter, D. D.

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The following paper was written early in 1914 and was originally intended as the first chapter to an extensive study of the social and ethical problems of the Mennonites of North America. Unforeseen circumstances brought about changes which have left the writing of the more complete work an unfulfilled wish. However, this paper has been used by a number of students in Mennonite history and the suggestion has frequently been made that it be published for wider usefulness.

When the paper was written there was no thought of a world

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war such as we have witnessed since, at least not in the mind of the writer of the following. Some statements might be modified if the paper were to be written today but on the whole even so momentous an experience as the world war cannot crowd out historical facts nor change basic facts in the lives of men. Both have still to be reckoned with.

The reader is requested to remember that this paper was not written as a complete work.

The writer wishes to acknowledge the valuable assistance rendered him in his efforts to get material by Mr. J. F. Lehmann, who so kindly helped in finding much printed matter and the Reverends N. B. and S. M. Grubb, who likewise shared with the writer their considerable stores of valuable information on subjects pertaining to Mennonites. A number of others rendered valuable service through their patient and painstaking answering of many letters sent to them for information. To all of these the writer is very grateful.

The Significance of the Term "Mennonites" in This Thesis.

The name Mennonites was derived from Menno Simons, who was born in 1492 in the village of Witmarsum, in West Friesland. He was not the founder of the movement, for that existed before his time. He was born and reared a Roman Catholic and entered the priesthood at the age of 28 after having been thoroughly educated for this calling. He was a typical priest of his time and spent several years in a life of ease and self-gratification. For some time he did not read the Bible for fear of being led astray! He seems, however, to have been a man of considerable natural ability and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that he soon began to entertain thoughts which led to changes in his life. First of all there arose doubts in his mind whether after all the bread and wine which he used in connection with the mass were actually turned into the flesh and blood of Christ. The more he thought about the matter, the less

the idea appealed to him. Getting hold of some of Luther's writings he found that these substantiated his doubts on this and other points. This period of doubting seems to have caused him much trouble because he seems to have looked upon the doubts as temptations at first, but when he found that prayer and fasting did not remedy the difficulty he seems to have determined to investigate further. About this time the martyrdom of Sieke Freerks, a tailor in the neighboring village of Leeuwarden, because he had been baptized again, made Menno wonder just how much right the church had to place such fearful emphasis upon child-baptism. After a protracted study of the Bible to find grounds for the position of the church, he concluded that she had none. To make sure that his investigations had not been superficial, he consulted his superior about the matter and received the reply that there was no direct argument in the Bible for the attitude of the church in this

matter. These experiences caused Menno to renounce the Roman Catholic church within a short time, not, however, without great struggles in which much of the old-time inclination to live for himself came to the fore again. He does not seem to have openly renounced his former allegiance until January 12, 1536. He was baptized by Obbe Philipps and thereby became a member of the movement to which he was soon to give a new name and for which he was to render efficient service. He had no idea of either of these possibilities at this time, however. His intention seems to have been to retire into private life and to study the Bible more thoroughly in order to get clear on a number of points which seem to have given him trouble, and he hesitated considerably before he was willing to accept the responsibilities of a church in his newly found faith. After he had accepted he served very faithfully, so faithfully in fact, that the Roman Catholic church soon considered him one

of the most dangerous of the heretics and set a price of 100 Gulden for his capture. He was often in great danger but escaped, although he led the life of a pilgrim much of the time in order to keep from falling into the hands of his enemies. He seems to have suffered because of poverty in the declining years, and he also suffered because of the fact that there were differences of opinion and difficulties which he was not able to overcome as fully as he had wished. Even during his time it was evident that people standing under the lordship of so many different rulers and surrounded by such differences in social and economic conditions, as were the people named after him, should expect to find it hard to agree perfectly in all things, even though they had the same confession of faith. The name Mennonites was applied to these people, not by themselves, or because Menno Simon was a highly honored man, by those who first used the name. It was a name applied by those who saw them-

selves foiled in their attempt to capture Menno and who felt chagrinned because a man who had been trained in their own ranks should become so prominent a leader among those whom they hated. Before the use of the name Mennonites, the members of the same movement were called Anabaptists, Baptists, Wiedertäufer, Doopsgesinnte etc, but, since the purpose of this thesis is to study the problems and conditions of the movement after the name Manisten, Mennisten, Mennonisten or Mennoniten (Mennonites) had been applied to the same, we shall refer to the movement as that of the Mennonites even when referring to times or conditions previous to the time of Menno. This is done to avoid confusion on the part of those not fully acquainted with the earlier history of the movement and because the earlier history of the movement is of interest to us only as kind of background to the conditions and problems which we wish to study.

A Brief Historical Survey of the

Mennonites to 1683.

It is difficult to trace clearly the origin of the so-called Mennonites because of the conflicting statements among the writers on the subject. Many of the early references are made by enemies of the movement. These claim that the Mennonites sprang from the notorious Münzer movement or that they arose as the critics of a few errors which crept into the reformation led by Luther; that they had no pre-reformation history as they claimed and that in criticising others they got into difficulties themselves and were therefore split into so many factions. Their enemies were especially piqued by the emphasis which the Mennonites laid upon righteous living and charged them with believing themselves better than other people. This charge was frequently made the excuse for persecutions. The charge, that the Mennonites belonged to the movement of Thomas Münzer, which created so much disturbance in 1521-2, is not well founded. It grows out of the

idea that the Mennonites considered themselves worthy critics of others. This was actually the attitude of Münster and his colleagues, but not that of the Taufgesinnten or Mennonites as a movement. Both movements emphasized baptism on faith and rejected child-baptism. Münster's movement, however, did not carry out these principles in practice. The difference between these movements becomes even more apparent when the attitude toward the government is taken into account. The Münster movement took up arms and mingled in politics, both of which facts are not true of the Mennonites, as a movement. The leaders of the latter movement even went so far as to admonish Münster not to allow himself to be goaded into the use of arms.

It was rather natural for superficial observers to reach wrong conclusions about the Mennonites because of the fact that there were other movements springing up at the same time, which had something in common

with them but which did not belong to them, e. g. movement of the Zwickau Prophets at Münster, led by the Thomas Münzer referred to above. The fact that Münzer took such a prominent part in the Peasants' war made matters worse for those who seemed to belong to his movement. The fact also that there was an uprising against social and political conditions in Switzerland from whence so many of the Mennonites came, naturally made those, out of sympathy with this uprising, conclude that it was the Mennonites who were to blame, especially since these also objected to some of the same conditions, though on other grounds and in other ways. The conditions of the times were such that any one who objected to existing conditions was considered a heretic and treated as such. There was little inclination to draw fine distinctions between heretics and therefore we are not surprised to find that historians were wrong in many of their conclusions about the Mennonites,

as well as in other matters. This was especially true of Catholic historians, but because of the fact that the Mennonites wanted to go further with the Reformation than Luther and Zwingli, these and their followers, also took an unfriendly attitude toward the Mennonites, and therefore it is quite easy to see why the Protestant historians likewise found no occasion to draw fine distinctions or even to make more than a superficial investigation before writing about people who differed from them. Thus we see why the Mennonites were persecuted by both the Catholic and the Protestant churches. Within later years, however, several eminent historians recognizing this unfair treatment, have come to the defence of the Mennonites. Among these Dr. Max Goebel, a theologian and historian of the Reformed church in a work entitled *Die Geschichte des christlichen Lebens*, speaks in terms of highest commendation of the non-resistant Brethren, afterward

called Mennonites. Dr. Keller, librarian of the Royal Library in Münster, also gives much evidence to prove that such writers as Tileman von Bracht and Dr. J. A. Stark were right in claiming that the Mennonites were the descendants of the Waldenses, Albigenses and others of similar faith.

There is some interesting evidence that the Mennonites originally came from the Waldenses. It has been shown by S. Blaupot Ten Cate, a Dutch historian, in his "*Geschiedkundig Onderzoek naar den Waldenzischen Oorsprong van de Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden*," published in Amsterdam 1844 and by Gabrielem Prateolum Macosium in his "*De vitis, sectis, et dogmatibus omnium Haereeticorum, etc.*," published in Cologne in 1583, that there were Waldenses in Holland and other places where Mennonites were found later, and that these Waldenses disappeared in later times; that some of the Mennonite families can trace their

histories back to the Waldenses; that similar habits and occupations characterize both movements; that they were early considered "brothers" of the Waldenses, even by Catholics, etc.

As already indicated the attitude of both the Catholic and the Protestant leaders was against the Mennonites. The persecutions which followed made the Mennonites scatter. The persecutions were probably most severe in Switzerland and caused the victims to flee into other lands. Some of them went to France, others into the southern states and provinces of Germany, still others pushed on into Holland, where they found protection under the reign of William of Orange. These persecutions had several effects. It made some of the people give up the faith, though there do not seem to have been many of these; they caused many peculiarities to become a part of the practices of the people, i. e., the secret use and spread of the Bible, the discarding of music in

connection with public worship; they also caused the adherents of the faith to come into contact with many people who might never have heard about it, and this led to a rapid spread of the faith only to be followed by even worse and more relentless persecutions. Conditions finally became so bad that they were intolerable. The prisons in Switzerland was so over-filled and the treatment accorded the prisoners was so cruel and inhuman that a change was inevitable. Others began to intervene. At first this was done by the Mennonites of Holland who sent a protest and some money to Switzerland. The protest led to further abuses of the Mennonites and the money was used for other purposes than those for which it had been sent. The officers of the Swiss government were ready with accusations. They claimed that the Mennonites broke out of prison whenever possible, and that they were not even now willing to promise not to repeat the offence. It seems that a number of these

officials would have been glad to have these persecuted people leave their fatherland, for they were becoming to be quite a great burden because of the large numbers in which they were arrested and incarcerated. It is strange that these Swiss officials did not realize the power of the noted "Schweizer Heimweh," but they evidently did not, or they used this pressure as a last resort to make the "heretics" return into the folds of the church. When the Mennonites of Holland saw that their first attempt had failed, they appealed to their own government to intervene for the persecuted Mennonites of Switzerland. Their plea was not in vain. The government of the Netherlands soon remonstrated with the government of Switzerland requesting that the Mennonites be allowed to take their property with them when they were driven from the country. The Knighthood of Alsace seconded this protest very heartily. In addition business and professional men took up the question

and brought pressure to bear, bearing testimony to the fact that the Mennonites had proven themselves to be desirable citizens in other countries. After these protests began to appear from without it did not take long before they arose also within the Swiss borders. People were beginning to look with disfavor upon the maltreatment accorded their neighbors and friends in every-day life, especially since so many of the officials and even of the clergy, who were responsible for the persecutions, led lives not in keeping with Christian principles. It seems, however, that all protests simply fired the Swiss officials on to greater cruelties and oppressions of one kind or another until the end of the 17th century. These persecutions naturally caused people to flee from Switzerland to neighboring countries during this entire period. Some of these returned if opportunity offered. When they did so they came back with some new ideas gained as to liberty of thought and ex-

pressions of the same in other countries. It was an unconscious preparation for emigration. This was not to follow, however, until others had led the way. The disinclination of the Swiss to leave the little home in the Alps; their remoteness from that part of Europe which naturally became acquainted with long ocean voyages and the poverty which had been terribly augmented by the long and bitter persecutions, naturally made it improbable for such people as the Swiss Mennonites to make the start in so momentous an undertaking as the emigration to America.

Meanwhile members of the movement in the Palatinate were also having a hard time of it. The Thirty Years' War was a severe experience for South Germany in general from an economic point of view and there seems considerable justification for the statements of historians and economists when they say that this war probably left effects which were not overcome for from 100 to 250 years. The effects on the relig-

ious and social life may be less apparent, but a closer study reveals the fact that they were not less real. If the Mennonites had previously been persecuted principally because of their opposition to infant baptism, they were persecuted no less severely now because they refused to bear arms for their petty lords. Their opposition became more determined the longer they saw the kind of motives which actuated their oppressors in wanting the common people to fight for them. During this time, only the Lutherans, Roman Catholics and the Reformed churches enjoyed any degree of religious toleration. The rest were outlawed and "their votaries placed in the category with heretics and atheists." The Mennonites, of whom there were quite a large number in Southern Germany at this time, being opposed by all three of the favored movements, naturally found their trials much increased by the addition of religious persecution to the strain of economic conditions caused by the war. The social

conditions also were very materially effected by this war and its attendant circumstances. If anything, it took Germany longer to recover from the social after-effects of the Thirty Years' War than from the economic after-effects. While this was true of the inhabitants of Southern Germany in general it was probably true to a greater extent of the Mennonites, though in different ways. Their habits of comparative seclusion saved them from some of the degrading results of the war, but the manner in which they were treated, in the name of religion, by those who could, in a large measure, dictate the policies of the petty lords, only tended to increase some of their peculiarities. It is at least questionable whether the Mennonites would have shown such clannish tendencies in later times if they had been given at least some of the degree of religious freedom to think for themselves. Or, if Zwingli and his followers instead of inviting their leaders to attend disputations, the outcome of which

was clear from the beginning because of the attitude of the civic powers in the matter, and then persecuting them because of their unwillingness to attend such disputations or to conform to his movement, had met their demands for a more thorough reformation in a reasonable way, it is reasonable to expect that the effects would have been different than could be expected when the attitude was one of "Qui mersus fuerit, mergatut." (Whom one baptizes in water one should drown in water) Jehring 90. As it was these people were driven to seclude themselves even more, and begin to ingrain the idea into their children that they were to consider themselves as merely tolerated in whatever country they happened to reside. It could hardly be expected otherwise when the only kind of government they knew for many generations was the kind which would defend and protect men who demanded liberty for themselves and denied the same liberty to others who asked for it, and who

did not hesitate to let their victims feel it that the government would aid them in their persecutions. This does not appear as too strong a statement when such a writer as Dr. Max Goebel, a theologian and historian of the Reformed church, in his "Die Geschichte des christlichen Lebens," has the following to say about the attitude of the Mennonites: "The real substance and distinguishing feature of these people consists in the great stress which they put upon these things: 1) upon actual personal conversion and regeneration by the Holy Spirit of every Christian; 2) on perfect liberty of conscience and freedom in worshiping; 3) on entire separation of spiritual and worldly things, — church and state; 4) on representing and establishing a true, holy congregation of the regenerated, through a special covenant of believers in which all things worldly and sinful are to be kept aloof by Christian discipline and the use of the ban, and in which the Christian principles of true brotherly love

are actually carried into effect by liberal giving and supplying of one another's needs and by a non-resistant and revengeless life.

"These people aimed not only at a reformation of the church as to doctrine and form of worship, as the Lutheran reformers did, neither only at the reformation of customs, morals, and systems of church government at which—better than the Lutheran reformers,—the Zwinglians and Calvinists aimed; but at all this and more, they aimed especially at a full and thorough execution and application of the doctrine of Christ in the heart and life of every individual in the congregation. That which the Reformation was originally intended to accomplish they aimed to bring into full realization without delay in every Christian, thus forming a congregation organized in accordance with Scripture teaching alone, and directed only by the Holy Spirit rather than of the officers of government and the opinions of men."

These people were not perfect,

but anything except an attempt to find and to criticise their weaknesses must lead one to see their attitude was not one of no value at all, either socially or religiously for their times, to say the least. What wonder then that they sought refuge from a country that turned from one kind of persecution to another. At a time when economic conditions were under a strain, it was natural to get all the money possible, but to try to get it on the pretense of trying to convert a class of people like the Mennonites to one's theological and political views by laying extra taxes upon them because they would not resist with violence, was a badly calculated arrangement if they were to be convinced that the views of their persecutors were the more ideal. Only prudence could have persuaded the Mennonites to yield and this they were not willing to exercise if it meant a violation of conscience. Therefore we find that these people who did want to serve God according to the dictates of their

conscience, had no other door open to them but to seek a country where they might have the freedom they sought. Where to go, was no easy question to decide. Switzerland was sending her emaciated prisoners over into the Palatinate at such a rate that the Germans hardly knew how to take care of them, hence Germany was out of consideration; Holland also, where the Mennonites had fared best, offered many difficulties. Persecutions had been recent enough here also to make it doubtful whether Mennonites should migrate thither in such large numbers. Then, too, the difference economically, socially, educationally, etc., between the Mennonites in the Netherlands and elsewhere had become quite marked. Their thrift and integrity with the opportunity given them had made them comparatively wealthy and had given them social position in some of the cities not enjoyed by Mennonites elsewhere; they had laid greater stress upon education, had adopted the system of

an educated ministry and had established a theological seminary to train their ministers. The fact that their young people had come in contact with the liberal thought of the day made it necessary for these Mennonites to make some changes in order to be able to continue their existence as a body of believers. Their brethren from Switzerland and Southern Germany, who had never met these problems in any high degree would naturally enough be somewhat suspicious and hence it was not strange that Holland was not seriously considered in deciding upon a place of refuge from the present intolerable conditions.

The **Schleitheim Confession of Faith**, called "A Brotherly Union of Some Children of God," contains in substance the following declarations of doctrine:

Baptism. Baptism shall be administered to all who are taught repentance and a change of life, and truly believe in the forgiveness of their sins through Jesus Christ, and are willing to walk in newness of life; all those shall

be baptized when they desire it and ask it by the decision of their own minds; which includes all infant baptism according to the Scriptures and the practice of the apostles.

Ban or Excommunication. This shall be practiced with all those who have given themselves to the Lord, to follow His commandments, are baptized, and call themselves brethren and sisters, and yet stumble and fall into sin, or are unexpectedly overtaken; these after admonition according to Matt. 18, if they do not repent shall be excommunicated.

Breaking of Bread. All who wish to break "one bread" in remembrance of the broken body of Christ, and drink of "one cup" in remembrance of His shed blood, shall be united by baptism into one body which is the congregation of God and of which Christ is the Head.

Separation from the World. The Christian must be separated from all the evil and wickedness that Satan has planted into the world. According to II Cor. 6:

17, 18, "We shall come out from among them and be separate": separate from all papistic works and services, meetings and church-goings, drinking-houses and other things which the world highly esteems.

Ministers. The ministers shall, according to the teachings of Paul, be of good report of them that are without. He shall teach, exhort, and help all the members to advance in their spiritual life. When he has needs he shall be aided by the congregation which chose him to his work. If he should be driven away, or imprisoned, or killed, another shall at once be put into his place.

Taking the Sword. The worldly governments of the land are to use the sword, but in the perfect congregation of Christ, excommunication is used, by which no one suffers violence to his body. Peter says: "Christ has suffered (not reigned) and has given us an example that we should follow His footsteps." Neither is it the Christian's work to have a part in civil govern-

ment; because the rulings of government are according to the flesh, but the government of Christ is according to the Spirit. The weapons of the world are carnal, but the weapons of the Christian are spiritual to the overcoming of the world and Satan.

Oaths. Christ, who taught the law in perfection, forbade His disciples all oaths, whether true or false. By this we understand that all swearing is forbidden.

The above is a brief summary of the Schleithem confession and gives some idea as to how a number of people thought as early as 1527 about certain points which would naturally bring them into difficulties with the established church.

Early Emigration to America.

Some relief from the intolerable conditions referred to in the last paragraph, was finally found in emigration. There is some question as to just when the first Mennonites came to America. Several authors have undertaken to find out definitely just when

and where the first Mennonite settlers arrived in America. (Smith pp. 81-93; Pennypacker, p. 50 f.; Shelly A. B., Report of Jubiläums-Fest, p. 34). It seems quite evident that there was a small settlement of these people in "Manhattan" as early as 1643, and another in 1662, led by Pieter Cornelisz Plockhoy, of Zierik Zee, a man with communistic ideas. His settlement was made on the Horekill, which is spoken of as a very fine country abounding very much in wild animals, birds, fish, etc., in O'Callahan's Documentary History of New York, II. p. 19. Plockhoy, or Plockhöy, is said to have had a following of 25 Mennonites. Dr. C. Henry Smith has gone into the questions surrounding these early colonies very fully in his "The Mennonites of America" on pages 81-93, and the reader is referred to this work, as well as others cited in the note for more detailed information. All traces of both colonies have been lost and therefore their history is of little value for our special

purpose aside from the fact that it is probable that Mennonites made several attempts to found colonies in America as early as 1662, and before; that these came from the Netherlands; that at least one of the colonies is supposed to have been conducted on a communistic basis, and that all of the members of these early attempts probably did not exceed 100 persons in number.

The first settlement of Mennonites which is of any significance was that made at Germantown, Pa., after the arrival of the "Concord" on October 6, 1683, with 13 Mennonite families consisting of 33 persons on board. These had come from Crefeld, Germany, and made Pennsylvania their destination because of an invitation extended to them through the efforts of William Penn. Thus we see that it was not only the unfriendliness of men which tended to expel them but also the friendliness of men which tended to attract the Mennonites, that caused a people, capable of so much attachment to their

homes, to leave these homes and undertake a long and tedious journey into a new country.

It is not strange that the Quakers should have been instrumental in bringing over the Mennonites when we consider that Wm. Penn's mother was a Mennonite, as were both of the parents of William Sewall, the well-known Quaker historian. Then too, there was a remarkably close resemblance between the Mennonites and the Quakers in matters of faith, e. g. both were opposed to war, to the swearing of oaths and to worldly living. In addition to this there was a strong kindred spirit shown through the fact that for some time after the arrival of the Mennonites, they and the Quakers worshipped together, a strange thing for those times, when there could not be found another spot, even in America, where there was much semblance of religious toleration toward someone who differed from those who had come first or who happened to be in power. This joint worship continued until about

1690, or until there had been a sufficient growth through further immigration to make it possible for the sects to crystalize. The visits of the Quaker representatives to the homes of these much persecuted and much oppressed people must have been an unusually attractive experience to such who had learned to look upon men of other faiths as men who would at best tolerate them. The Catholics had been unfriendly, the followers of Luther had not long remained friendly, they had suffered persecutions at the hands of the Reformed leaders, petty lords had laid unfair and excessive economic burdens upon their shoulders and finally Louis XIV had ravaged their homes and their property so frequently that it must have seemed almost unbelievable to them to have people take the kindly interest in them which was accorded them by William Penn and his emissaries. But for this fact the Mennonites would hardly have left their homes. They have wandered much during the time

of their existence, but it was not due to the so-called "Wanderlust", for they have usually shown a very great tenacity to remain in their place of birth, and an occasion for going to another country has always been a cause of great concern as we have seen in the case of the persecuted inhabitants of Switzerland and shall have occasion to see again in the case of others. The Mennonites have often been looked upon as such who love to move from place to place because they have moved so often, and since the last great immigration of their number in the 70's have moved about quite freely within the borders of North America. This they were not inclined to do as early as the settlement of Germantown or there would probably have been a larger company of them at first, or another company would have followed soon after, especially since the Quakers were making such efforts to have them come. The second group came in 1688. Then there were other groups in 1708,

1711, 1717, and then in 1727 they began coming in large numbers. Those coming about 1708 and 1717 came from Switzerland and were assisted materially by their fellow members in the Netherlands, for in spite of the efforts in their behalf, the Mennonites of Switzerland continued to receive such relentless treatment that they were poverty stricken and often physical wrecks when they were driven, or managed to escape from their Alpine homes.

The first comers were religious refugees. Lucy Forney Bittinger in her book "The Germans in Colonial Times" says of them: "The first emigration of Germans into America in 1683 was influenced by purely religious motives and not at all by any social conditions," and so far as I have been able to find this statement has not been reversed by either Mennonite or non-Mennonite authors. Bittinger continues: "The colonists were Mennonite weavers from Crefeld, on the Rhine. They belonged to that persecuted sect of 'defenseless

Christians,' as they often entitled themselves, who trace their spiritual descent back to the pure doctrines of the early Waldenses."....."They had a blind and passionate desire for a pure, simple church in which all believers should be equal, in which no importance should be attached to forms and ceremonies, in which there should be no strife between brethren, neither wars nor judicial oaths; and an equal desire for such a reform in the state as should make their burdens and oppressions a little lighter and by which the state would not persecute any man for doing and believing what he thought to be right." These people were naturally a hardy people or they could not have stood the voyage and the early hardships of pioneer life as they did after the kind of treatment which they had received in their home communities before coming to this country. Those coming from Crefeld were mostly weavers, though some of them had cultivated vines in Germany and hoped to

turn the wild grape of the woods of Pennsylvania to good use here. They were an industrious people who lost no time in preparing the wilderness for permanent home-life. Fortunately for them a man, not a Mennonite, became very much interested in them and gave them the benefit of his learning, his ability as a leader, his time and his tireless energy. This man was Franz Daniel Pastorius, who was the agent of the Frankfort Land company and preceded the regular group of immigrants to this country. They had selected him as their representative because of his superior ability, and in this they had done well, for he proved to be an unusually well qualified man for the kind of work which was necessary in their day and under their conditions. Pastorius was born in Somerhausen, Germany, in 1651. He had acquired a university education and was a graduate of the Law School at Jena. He knew Greek, Latin, German, French, Italian, Dutch and English well and frequently wrote and spoke

them interchangeably. He opened a law practice in Frankfort in 1679. Soon afterward he undertook a two-years' journey with another young man. During this journey he seems to have gotten into touch with the Pietists and Mennonites of the Rhine valley. He seems to have become very much impressed with them and said: "This begat a desire in my soul to continue in their society and with them to lead a quiet, godly and honest life in the howling wilderness." Pastorius has described himself as "of a melancholy, cholerick complexion and therefore (juxta Culpepper, p. 194), gentle, given to sobriety, solitary, studious, doubtful, shamefaced, timorous, pensive, constant and true in actions, of a slow wit, with obliviousness, etc.,

If any does him wrong,
He can't remember't long."

The temperament and psychical make-up of Pastorius made it possible for him to enter sympathetically into the thinking of the Mennonites, and his educa-

tion and his wide experience made it possible for him to serve them very well in a realm in which none of their members were probably experienced enough to meet the difficulties incident upon such an undertaking as their coming to America and founding a permanent settlement here. Pastorius was very unselfish in rendering his services, for he was not relieved of his duties as agent of the Frankfort Land company until 1700, at which time he had served this company 17 years without pay and considerable expense to himself.

“After the Concord arrived, the first problem was to select a location for the German colonists. They had purchased the right of occupying in all 43,000 acres, and asked for a site on a navigable river, as their contract demanded. But since Penn was not willing to carry out the latter condition they finally found available a tract of land about 6 miles above Philadelphia, which is at present the 22nd ward of the city and

bears still the original name of Germantown."

It soon became evident, as Pennypacker suggests in his Historical and Biographical sketches, that these people had come over for colonization and not for speculation, for they soon set about making arrangements for permanent homes. Six days after their arrival they received a warrant for 6000 acres of land and 12 days later they gathered in the cave of Pastorius and drew lots for each man's location. As soon as this was done they set about digging cellars and building huts in order to be prepared for the approaching winter. These people were by no means rich, although, now and then, people of means had allied themselves with the Mennonites. It is no wonder then that they endured many hardships at first. "Pastorius recorded in his 'Grund-und Lagerbuch' that the hardships and trials of the early settlers were great, only equalled by their Christian endurance and indefatigable industry, so that

Germantown in the early days could be called 'Armentown!'" However, their industry and frugality made it possible for them to replace the cave and huts with which they started out, by large and comfortable stone houses. Though most of the first comers were weavers by trade, they were not tradesmen belonging to an age of narrow specialization like ours. They could build homes for themselves and their families, churches and school houses for worship and for the training of coming generations, and they could and did raise the materials out of which to weave the cloth for which they had been noted in Europe and were soon to become respected in America. They raised flax with great success and Pastorius attributed the prosperity of the young city largely to the flax spinning and weaving made possible through this fact, and many years afterward we find the "Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblaetter" giving much credit to the weavers coming into

Illinois from Pennsylvania and tracing the history of these back to our first arrivals in Philadelphia and founders of Germantown, who brought in weaving. Eventually their home industries increased to the proportions of factories, some of which, e. g. factories for stockings, have continued throughout the years since then. The first sale was held in 1684 and yielded \$10.00. People were supplied with clothes. Soon large demands came from the outside because of the good quality of the goods.

Their successes soon led to the coming of others from Europe, as was indicated above, people from the old home in Crefeld, but also from Muhlheim and Kriegsheim, and finally from Switzerland. These, likewise, were mostly tradesmen, e. g., weavers, tailors, shoemakers, locksmiths, carpenters, but also applied themselves to cultivating the soil, as had those who came in 1683.

Paper was also manufactured early in the colony. Willem Rittinghuysen was by profession a

papermaker, and he and his two sons soon did credit to the good name which they brought from Holland. They came in 1690 and soon began making such excellent paper that the business grew to large proportions, especially in the days when it was given into the hands of one of the sons, Claus.

It did not take long for these industrious people to replace the quiet of the ancient forest by the hum of industries of various kinds. Their homes were surrounded by vegetable and flower gardens. They erected substantial buildings as soon as they were able to do so, which was remarkably soon in many cases because of the indefatigable industry and the thrift which they displayed. They seem to have come without bringing any idlers along and if anyone became poor through misfortune they were always ready to help. Courts had little to do, for there were few but strictly law-abiding people in the colony and every one was too busy working to have time to at-

tend courts. What routine business there was to transact in the way of deeds, contracts, etc, was dispatched and court adjourned.

Germantown was incorporated on August 12, 1689, as a town. It was fitting that Pastorius should be its first burgomaster. For many years he was either burgomaster or scrivener, and it is due to his careful and painstaking work that such good records have been preserved of the early proceedings in the town and community.

The Mennonites were disinclined to hold office and were exempted from this duty. Their daily labor had evidently left them no time to study the differences in the political situations here and in Europe, where it was much more natural that they should take such an attitude with their conceptions of a Christian's duties and the conflicts which these conceptions brought about with the existing forms of government. We find, however, that at least 15 of them, including two ministers, became citizens as

early as May 7, 1691. Cf. Menn. Year Book and Almanac, 1911, p. 17. This gives evidence that some of their number were beginning to adjust themselves to the difference in political conditions.

In 1697 all of the crimes committed before that date were forgiven with the warning that this would not occur again. The records were kept with great detail but we find that there was very little drunkenness to record in spite of the fact that beer seems to have been brewed quite early in Germantown.

When the time came that the town needed a court seal, Pastorius ingeniously designed and sketched a clover-leaf, on three leaves of which were sketched respectively a vine, a flax blossom and a weaver's shuttle with the motto: "Vinum, linum et textrium," which he translated "Der Wein, der Lein, und der Weber-schrein." A picture of this seal may be found in Hotchkin (frontpiece).

Within 20 years of the coming of the first company of Menno-

nites annual, and later semi-annual fairs (Jahrmarkt) were held in Germantown for the purpose of encouraging industry, and, it seems to me, probably also for their social significance. Faust suggests that these fairs may have been the fore-runners of the county fairs.

Religious, moral, educational and social conditions among the early Mennonite settlers in Pennsylvania.

It is not surprising to find that the group of Mennonites to arrive in Pennsylvania should not only have laid the foundation for sound economic development, but should also have shown an interest in and a concern for religious, moral, educational and social development, early. They came on the sixth of October, 1683 and the records show that they held their first public worship in the house of one of their number, whose name was Dennis (Thonis) Kunders. He was a leading character among the members of the small group of Mennonites landing on October 6, 1683, and the

first one of them to build a house in Germantown. This house is also famous as the one in which the first protest against slavery was drawn up and signed by Pastorius and three Mennonites. A portion of the house is still standing, showing that these early settlers took pains to build well. Menn. Year Book, 1900 pp. 20. 22, contains a picture and a very interesting description of this house.

At this time the little company was without a regular minister and remained so for five years until Willem Rittinghuysen, the paper manufacturer, came over from Amsterdam, Holland, and served them as their spiritual leader. As stated elsewhere, the Mennonites and the Quakers worshipped together for several years and it is quite possible that the latter furnished the preachers for the first few years. Penn not only preached for the Mennonites but preached for them in Kunders' house, and there seems to have been a spirit of harmony between the two bodies of believers, and an exchange of membership so that

Mennonites became Quakers and vice versa. In spite of this harmonious relation the Mennonites seem to have felt the need of a fully ordained Bishop (Aeltester) in order to perform the rites of baptism and of the Lord's supper. Therefore they wrote to Holland for advice. The Hamburg-Altoona church took the matter as seriously as it was presented and endeavored to find some one of their Bishops who would be willing to come over to America for the purpose of ordaining a man here. In this attempt they did not succeed because of the difficulties connected with such a voyage at that time. The advice which they gave to their American brethren after their deliberations and futile attempt to send a bishop as requested, is very significant. They advised them to elect and ordain a bishop. This advice was taken and it is probable that Willem Rittinghuysen was the first bishop according to it. This brings up the very interesting question whether the idea of having only

a bishop invested with the right to ordain and to perform the sacred rites of the church was not founded more on custom than on essential article of faith. If it was, then this point is of very great significance as regards some of the problems of the church today, and, if it was not, then we have here a case where a point of the confession of faith was waived in order to do what was considered a social need and therefore thought to be right, and this also offers a very fruitful suggestion concerning some of the problems of today. There are other facts that provoke thought in this direction, e. g. the fact that these Palatine Mennonites did not mingle with the Swiss Mennonites who came later and settled on the Pequea, and the fact that the split bringing about the origin of the Amish Mennonites "was not on fundamental doctrine; but upon the question of strictness versus liberality or rules." These were problems which the Mennonites brought with them from Europe and which, as we

have seen in the case of the bishop at Germantown, the European Mennonite churches did not solve for them.

The first church was built in 1708, and by this time the original number of members had grown quite materially though a number of the Mennonites had probably gone over to the Quakers. In the same year occurred the death of Willem Rittinghuyzen. The church elected two men, probably Nicholas Rittenhaus and Dirk Keyser. At some time during this year the churches in Amsterdam received a request for Bibles and other religious books. This shows that there was interest in the work before them.

Morally these people seem to have stood high, at least for their time, for we find that there was little use for jails and courts. There were only four lawyers in Philadelphia in 1709 and Dr. Oswald Seidensticker, writing in the *Deutsche Pionier*, believes that this fact gives some coloring to the statement of Gabriel Thomas

in his description of Pennsylvania when he claims that there is nothing to report about doctors and lawyers because "the land is too well and too peaceful" (zu gesund und zu friedsam).

In the matter of schools they were also alert considering their advantages. In laying out a town they charged all lots a ground rent of "a Spanish milled dollar" for the benefit of churches and schools. In one instance they set aside 50 acres of land for the purpose of supporting a schoolmaster and they seem to have looked for capable men to act as teachers early, for we find that Pastorius was called to the Quaker school in Philadelphia in 1698, which he served until 1700, and that two years afterward when a school was established in Germantown, he became its head. "This school, a co-educational institution was supported by a fixed rate, 4-6 pence a week as the scholar's fee, while several citizens besides made voluntary contributions. A night school was established for such as labored

during the day or were too far advanced in years for the day school." Probably the most interesting figure in the educational work of these early Mennonite immigrants is Christopher Dock of whom S. W. Pennypacker says in his introduction to "The Life and Works of Christopher Dock," by Dr. Brumbaugh, "Twenty-five years ago the name of Christopher Dock, the pious schoolmaster on the Skippack, was unknown to the reading world, and the light of local fame, extending from Germantown to Goshenhoppen, which in the 18th century gave a genial glow to his life, had faded to an almost imperceptible ember. Today it is no exaggeration to say that any treatise upon pedagogy which should omit recognition of his important labors would be regarded as a failure, and his reputation as a leader in educational development in America is universally recognized.

"Many learned authors have vied with each other in doing homage to the memory of one so

worthy. To have written the earliest American book upon the subject of school teaching is a fact sufficient in itself sooner or later to attract the attention of men of letters, but that the fact is much emphasized when the study of his essay discloses that he was far in advance of his time and that in his methods of teaching and of enforcing discipline he forecast what more recent experience has proven to be correct.

“Moreover, he was virtuous in life, sweet in disposition and lovable in character, so that when the simple people who surrounded him, grown to maturity, sought to impress upon their children an example of modest merit, they ever recurred to the conduct of the pious schoolmaster.”

For some reason not much mention is made of Dock in the writings of American authors for a period of about 150 years, but since then there has been quite a keen interest manifested in his life and works, especially by the Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, “Historical and Biographical

Sketches" pp 89-153; Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh, "The Life and Works of Christopher Dock," Dr. C. Henry Smith, "The Mennonites of America," pp. 421-27; Daniel Kolb Cassel, "Geschichte der Mennoniten," pp. 303-7; Dr. Albert Bernhardt Faust, "The German Element in the United States" p 204.

Christopher Dock was born in Germany. But little is known concerning his youth, his educational advantages, etc. He arrived in Pennsylvania sometime between 1714 and 1718 and seems to have intended to farm. There is a tradition that he had been drafted into the army but discharged because of his religious scruples against carrying arms and that he had made a vow that if God would help him out of his difficulty he would devote his life to training the youth of his people. He seems to have had a wonderful power of self-control, for when, at one time, two men were discussing this trait in him and he appeared on the scene, he showed himself to be in the pow-

er of the trait in question after one of the men had "reviled him fiercely, bitterly and profanely," by quietly replying: "Friend, may the Lord have mercy upon thee." There are frequent traces of the fact that he needed others to bring him into the public light,—a characteristic of the Menno-nites to whom he belonged. Several prominent men arranged affairs so that he became school-master not long after his arrival in America and one of these, at least, Christopher Saur, was later responsible for the writing and the publication of the now famous "Schulordnung." Seidensticker's life of Saur and his son may be found in the *Deutsche Pioneer* beginning with Vol. XII p. 10. Dock's first teaching experience in the colony extended over a period of 10 years, then he bought a tract of land and farmed for about an equal period of time. During this time he taught several short summer terms of school and at the end of the time returned to his favorite occupation. He now opened

two schools, one in Skippack and one in Salford. He taught each three days per week. It is interesting to note how he increased the efficiency of both schools by establishing a friendly competition between them. A part of the language training consisted in the writing of letters on the part of the pupils of each school to the pupils of the other. Dock was postman and critic. Anyone who knows the Mennonites well, can readily see that such traits in the man's life, as the one just referred to, would make his people become much attached to him, even though they might not be able to state the value of his pedagogical principles in academic terms. Dock remained with the work which he loved, and in which he was so eminently successful, for the rest of his life. After the death of his wife and the marriage of his daughters, Dock made his home with Heinrich Kassel, a Mennonite farmer on the Skippack. It was his custom to remain at the schoolhouse every evening after he had dismissed

the children and to pray for the welfare of each individually. In doing this he spread out the roll of the pupils before him and prayed for each one individually mentioning the names as he did so. But he did not only pray for the pupils—he prayed for himself lest he should fail to do his duty by them. One evening in the autumn of 1771 he failed to appear at the farmhouse. A search led to his discovery in the schoolhouse on his knees,—dead! A fitting close for such a life.

This living advocate of fundamental pedagogical principles was asked to write a book for the benefit of other teachers by prominent men as early as 1750 but he declined thinking that it would be wrong to seek praise for himself. He was, however, persuaded to write out answers to definite questions which had been given him. Thus the desired treatise was soon finished, but the good schoolmaster refused to permit its publication until after his death. Through this refusal the manuscript was left unpublished

for 19 years until finally in 1769 "the Friends of the Common Good" succeeded in persuading the old schoolmaster that he ought to lay aside his scruples and permit the publication of the work. To the chagrin of the publishers and others desiring an early publication, the manuscript was nowhere to be found. The publisher advertised for it. He was accused of on the suspicion that it might having made way with it himself have contained something which he did not like. After a search of more than a year the manuscript was found in a place which had been thoroughly searched by the publisher and his helpers. The work was then published without delay. It bears this inscription on the title page: "Eine Einfältige und gründlich abgefasste Schul-Ordnung, Darinnen deutlich vorgestellt wird, auf welche Weisse die Kinder nicht nur in denen in Schulen gewöhnlichen Lehren bestens angebracht, sondern auch in der Lehre der Gottseligkeit wohl unterrichtet werden mögen.

Aus Liebe zu dem menschlichen Geschlechte aufgesetzt durch den wohlerfahrenen und lang geübten Schulmeister, Christoph Dock. Und durch einige Freunde des gemeinen Bestens dem Druck übergeben. Germantown: Gedruckt und zu finden bei Christoph Saur, 1770."

Of the importance of this essay ex-Governor Pennypacker says in his "Historical and Biographical Sketches", that it is the earliest, written and published in America, upon the subject of school teaching, and that it is the only picture we have of the colonial country school. It is remarkable that at a time when the use of force was considered essential in the training of children, views so correct upon the subject of discipline should have been entertained." For a fac-simile reproduction and translation of Dock's work the reader is referred to "The Life and Works of Christopher Dock." by Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh. In this same work may also be found the fac-simile reproductions of sev-

eral numbers of Dock's "Geistliches Magazien" a treatise which the venerable schoolmaster wrote to those of his former pupils who were still living, for their instruction and admonition, and which contains 100 rules of etiquette (probably the first printed in America) and several of Dock's hymns, besides much material which gives the reader a picture of the conduct of the children of this early Mennonite settlement, in their homes and in school; all of which material is both interesting and instructive. S. W. Pennypacker in "Historical and Biographical Sketches" has also translated the material above referred to.

"Dock introduced the black board into the American school room. His Schulordnung reveals the author's beautiful character and his insight into human nature. He advised not only the training of children in their studies, but demanded also their instruction in righteousness. Morality, conduct and scholarship were the order in which these educational

elements were instilled. If at this period the three R's were taught, a fourth, Religion, was never omitted and was generally placed at the beginning." Cf. Faust vol. II p. 204.

I have thus entered upon the life of the schoolmaster the more fully because of the influence which he wielded, not only during his life-time, but also because of the stamp which he placed on-to future generations of this group of people whose problems I have set out to study.

Considering the times, the early settlers of Germantown and vicinity displayed a considerable literary activity by the way of producing books, pamphlets, etc. Many had also brought a considerable number of books from Europe. They manufactured their own paper (and it was paper of a good quality), and much of the printing was done by the family of Saur, who, though not Mennonites themselves, had much in common with these people.

Young, p. 12 considers C. Saur

a peer of Benj. Franklin in the art of printing.

We find that the Mennonites had their Confession of Faith printed in the English language as early as 1712. A second edition was printed in this country by Bradford in 1727. This was the first book which was printed for Germans in Pennsylvania.

There was also an edition of the German Bible printed in Pennsylvania 39 years before the first edition of the English Bible was printed in America. In fact there were three editions of this German Bible before the first edition of the English left the press. Dr. Oswald Seidensticker in his "Deutsch-amerikanische Bibliographie bis zum Schlusse des letzten Jahrhunderts" found in Vol. IX, X, XII of the "Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pioneer-Vereins von Philadelphia" shows that there was great activity in the way of publishing German books and pamphlets, many of which were by and for Mennonites in and about Germantown and Philadelphia. Such literary activity is

not surprising when we consider the fact that almost every local church had its school even though they did not all have Christopher Dock's for teachers.

Another moral trait of these early Mennonite immigrants comes to light in the fact that they were the first to raise a formal protest against slavery in America. The protest is as follows:

This is to ye Monthly Meeting held at Rigert Worrells. These are the reasons why we are against the traffick on mens-body as followeth: Is there any that would done or handled at this manner? viz, to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life? How fearful & faint-hearted are many on sea when they see a strange vassel being afraid it should be a Turck, and they should be tacken, and sold for Slaves in Turkey. Now what is this better done as Turcks doe? Yea rather is it worse for them, which say they are Christians for we hear,

that ye most part of such Negers are brought heither against their will & consent, and that many of them are stollen. Now though they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men, licke as we will be done our selves: macking no difference of what generation, desent, or Colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alicke? Here is liberty of Conscience, which is right & reasonable, here ought to be likewise liberty of ye body, except of evil-doers, wch is an other case. But to bring men hither, or to robb and sell them against their will, we stand against. In Europe there are many oppressed for Conscience sake; and here there are those oppressed wch are of a black Colour. And we, who know that men must not commit adultery, some doe commit adultery in others, separating wives from their housbands, and giving

them to others and some sell the children of those poor Creatures to other men. O! doe consider well this things, you who doe it, if you would be done at this manner? and if it is done according Christianity? you surpass Holland & Germany in this thing. This mackes an ill report in all those Countries of Europe, where they hear off, that ye Quackers doe here handel men, Licke they handel there ye Cattle; and for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither. And who shall maintaine this your cause or plaid for it? truely we can not doe so except you shall inform us better hereoff, viz. that christians have liberty to practise this things. Pray! What thing in the world can be done worse towarts us then if men should robb or steal us away & sell us for slaves to strange Countries, separating housband from their wife & children. Being now this is not done at that manner we will be done at, therefore we contradict & are against this traffick of men body. And

we who profess that it is not lawfull to steal, must likewise avoid to purchase such things as are stolen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possible, and such men ought to be delivred out of ye hands of ye Robbers and set free as well as in Europe. Then in Pensilvania to have a good report, in stead it hath now a bad one for this sacke in other Countries. Especially whereas ye Europeans are desirous to know in what manner ye Quackers doe rule in their Province & most of them doe loock upon us with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall we say is don evil?

If once these slaves (wch they say are so wicked and stubborn men) should joint themselves, fight for their freedom and handel their masters & mastrisses, as they did handel them before; will these masters & mastrisses, tacke the sword at hand & warr against these poor slaves, licke we are able to belive some will not refuse to do? Or have these negers not as much right to fight for

their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?

Now consider well this thing, if it is good or bad? and in case you find it to be good to handel these blacks at that manner, we desire & require hereby lovingly that you may informe us herein which at this time never was done, viz. that Christians have Liberty to do so, to the end we shall be satisfied in this point, & satisfie lickewise our good friends & acquaintances in our natif Country, to whose it is a terrour or fair-full thing that men should be handeld so in Pensilvania.

This was is from our monthly meeting at Germantown hold ye 18 of the 2 month, 1688 to be delivred to to the monthly meeting at Richard Warrels.

gerret hendericks
derick op de graeff
Francis daniell Pastorius
Abraham op den Graef

The above copy is taken from Pennypacker's "Historical and Biographical Sketches", and he

seems to have copied it from a fac-simile of the original made by the Friends. He has taken care to reproduce the original as nearly as possible so far as orthography and punctuation are concerned. Judging from the records of the meetings of the Friends this document was passed from the monthly to the quarterly and from there to the annual meeting, and then there seems to have been no definite action on the matter. Smith is evidently correct in assuming (pp. 121-2) that, "The Quakers, in spite of the good service they later rendered in the cause of human freedom, were not yet quite ready to declare in favor of total abolition."

Pastorius evidently was the scribe for this quartette which goes down in history as a small group of men who started a small fire which was to spread for many generations until that for which they plead only a few years after reaching the American shores should finally be accomplished.

The fact that the Mennonites

of Holland felt themselves compelled to refuse further aid to the Swiss Mennonites in 1732 seems to have put a check on the immigration of Mennonites into the American Colonies for some time. The great famine in Switzerland during the years of 1815-18 again started the stream, which has kept up more or less ever since. It is difficult to establish just how many Mennonites had entered the American colonies, but it seems that there had been at least 3000 applicants for aid at Rotterdam up to the time that such aid was refused in 1732. It is doubtful whether all of these came to America and it is unquestionably true that many came here without asking aid from the benevolent brethren in Holland.

The newcomers from Switzerland did not settle in Pennsylvania. They proceeded to Ohio and Indiana. The former state already contained several Mennonite settlements founded by such who had left Pennsylvania with its comparatively crowded conditions and proceeded to what

was then the West. Smaller groups of colleagues kept coming from Switzerland in 1817, 1820, 1822, 1824, 1825, and from then until 1835 they came in large numbers, after which smaller groups kept coming until about 1856. The Amish division settled largely in Fulton and Butler counties in Ohio, but there were also settlements in Lewis county, New York, in Canada, southeastern Iowa and Illinois. The Mennonites settled in Wayne, Allen, Ashland and Putnam counties, Ohio, Adams county, Indiana, Lee and Franklin counties, Iowa, and St. Clair county, Illinois. However, those who settled in Lee county, Iowa, and St. Clair county, Illinois, had not come directly from Switzerland, but from the regions of the lower Rhine. Their ancestors had come from Switzerland but had stopped in the provinces of Southern Germany about the time that the first members of the denomination came to America. There were also some who came from France. These settled in McClain, Tas-

well and Livingstone counties of Illinois.

The reasons for the coming of these 19th century Mennonite immigrants were somewhat different from those of the 17th and 18th centuries. They were more economic in nature as was seen above from the fact that the Swiss left their homes because of a famine. The same was true of others who came during this period. The active and barbarous persecutions of the earlier times had ceased and therefore this prime reason of the first immigrants had disappeared. There was however still a fundamental similarity, namely that of service in the army. Europe was restless and every potentate seems to have kept his subjects more or less in an uneasy and uncertain frame of mind. It was this uncertainty about what might happen in the future that made many Mennonites feel that they would rather brave the dangers of so long a voyage; the hardships of pioneer life and, last but not least, the disposition of their

much loved homes at a loss. When one of their number was drafted they were permitted to get a release. Heavy burdens were thus sometimes imposed upon them and discriminations which were now and then shown, made the conditions all the more undesirable. The Mennonites were not unwilling to bear more than the average share of taxes, support their own schools and churches in addition to aiding as much as others in the support of the State churches, but at times the pressure was put on so heavily that their endurance was tried to the utmost. The root of the difficulty for the Mennonites and their forefathers, the Anabaptists in Europe, had been their objection to the union of the church and the State. They did not object to the existence of the State but wanted the two separated. The fact that the two were separated in the United States appealed to them very strongly. That their attitude would bring them problems from a new angle in this country does not seem to

have entered into their considerations, and it was hardly to be expected, at least not until the war clouds began to gather for the Civil war, and we find that the immigration of the Mennonites dropped off very materially about that time.

It is very difficult also in the case of the Mennonites, who came to the United States between about 1812 and 1856 to establish a correct estimate as to the number who arrived. Very often there is not even an estimate given as to the number who came in any one group, then frequently the estimate is made somewhat as follows: "About 25 families and several single persons may therefore have decided to go to America." This report was made by a member of the company and no doubt was perfectly satisfactory for his or her purposes but it leaves him who would get at a correct estimate very much in the dark as to the exact number of persons who actually come. As we have seen above these people scattered over

a very large expanse of country at a time and under conditions which placed statistical considerations pretty low in the scale of importance.

These people also were frugal, industrious, desirous of founding permanent homes and being good neighbors. Most of them went to farming and showed that they were able to accommodate themselves to the conditions of a new country so rapidly that they soon were classed as some of the more successful farmers in their respective communities. Church and school played a foremost role in the thinking of most of them. There was some difference to be detected, however, especially in the following generation. On the whole it soon became quite evident that the greater the economic reason had come to the fore in the decision to come to America, the less church, and especially educational advantages were emphasized after the people came to this country. In a general way, at least, it is also quite evident that those who were least

active in using or creating educational advantages, were most emphatic in literal interpretations which left out of account the difference in political conditions in Europe and in the United States. This suggests the causes for some of the "splits" which occurred later in this land of freedom and also the causes for misunderstanding all of the Mennonites because of the fact that the attitudes of some of them were so out of keeping with a democratic form of government. However, these were problems which arose after the first generation had gotten well started.

The fact that some of their members had been in the United States for 150 or more years might be expected to constitute an argument against the above conclusion were it not for the spirit of individuality found among so many of them. That is one reason why they went to so many different portions of this country. It was less a feeling of disaffection for each other than a desire to be independent. This

quality has proven to be both their greatest point of strength and of weakness, depending upon the use to which it was put in this land of opportunities, which had been denied them in Europe and for which they had come to America.

The most recent wave of Mennonite immigration dates from the year 1874. This came from southern Russia and assumed very large proportions. Though coming from Russia, these people were not Russians by nationality. Catherine II of Russia, herself a German princess, invited the Mennonites to come to Russia as model farmers on the vast steppes of her domain. In order to induce them to come she offered them free transportation, free land, religious toleration and freedom from military service. This offer would probably have received little or no heed had it not been for the fact that the conditions of the Mennonites in Prussia were becoming anything but desirable for them. They had increased rapidly in numbers and

had prospered economically, in fact these factors had attained such proportions that many of the Prussians began to fear for the consequences for the government in case of war, with so many opponents to war within the borders of the State. In addition to this the Mennonites bought so much land that many of the clergy of the realm began to want because there were not enough of the members belonging to the State church within their parishes to pay the salaries. The government then forbade any further purchases of land by Mennonites and assessed them for the support of the clergy. This conjured up two serious problems for the Mennonites. They were an agricultural people and wished their children to remain such, fearing lest the city life make them lax in their religious attitudes, as had been the case in Holland very frequently, therefore the decree forbidding them to buy more land made it a problem for them to know what to do with their rapidly increasing population. Then,

the payment of one church tax to the State and the support of their own churches in addition seemed to them too large a burden, especially since they were frequently called upon to make extra payments to the government because of the fact that they did not bear arms. Because of these facts many of the Mennonites in Prussia were inclined to look upon the invitation of Catherine as an indication of the divine will for them to leave the country to which their forefathers had come from Holland, and turn to the East in order to find for themselves and their children what their forefathers hoped to find in Prussia,—religious toleration as they understood it. Those who remained in Prussia gained much at first. Because of the fact that so many of the Mennonites left or threatened to leave, the Prussian government made more favorable concessions or, at least, was less relentless for a time in carrying out some of the decrees on the statute books, and the fact that

so many left at one time gave an opportunity of getting valuable property cheaply. These advantages were more apparent than real, however, for the Napoleonic career gave Prussia so much trouble that the wealthy Mennonites were soon called upon for levy upon levy of special taxes and their doctrine of refusing to bear arms was tested to the utmost, so others would gladly have gone to Russia if the door had still been open. The whole experience led to a less literal and more liberal interpretation of this particular tenet of their faith, among the Mennonites of Prussia.

Those who left Prussia to go to Russia, however, were not in such haste as to neglect making careful investigations. They sent two men ahead to find out about proper locations and satisfactory terms. They left Danzig in October 1786 and returned in November 1787. These men seem to have made a favorable impression upon the Czarina and her high officials and therefore were

successful in getting the desired concessions. In addition to those mentioned above the Mennonites were to have the following privileges: to settle in exclusive colonies; to build churches and schools; to have their own ministers; to have their own local government, but they were under no circumstances to make proselytes of the native Russians belonging to the Greek Catholic (Russian) church. In this latter point the agreement differed from that given to the "Brüdergemeinde" about 25 years earlier, although it was even then understood that the latter were to work among a tribe which did not belong to the Russian church. These concessions were favorable enough when heard and on paper. There were many disappointments awaiting the Prussian Mennonites, however, for they soon found out that not all people were as conscientious as themselves about the carrying out of promises. Nevertheless the colonies grew and multiplied and all went well until it was dis-

covered early in the 70's that the Russian government intended to cancel the concessions made by Catherine II and ratified by Paul I in 1800 when he gave them a charter renewing his mother's promises and offered the Menno-nites even more privileges in order to induce them to increase their number by further immigration. This charter is still preserved in a fire-proof building in Chortiz and contains the following provisions: religious toleration; exemption from military service; the substitution of affirmation for the oath; 65 des-satin (about 160 A.) of free, arable land for each family; freedom from taxation for ten years; the right to fish, and to establish distilleries, of which they were to have a monopoly within their settlement, and freedom from the quartering of soldiers among them.

Favorable as these concessions seemed to those to whom they were issued, they did not always prove to be a blessing for they led to a State within a State and

it was psychologically almost sure that such exclusive communities in a country like Russia should lead to narrow conceptions and emphases upon non-essential rather than essential points, and so we find it in the development of the history of this people within the less than 100 years, which were spent in the domain of the Russians. There were splits and petty disagreements which often hindered the best development of the people; there was prosperity, which, however, was not always a blessing and led to the same kind of difficulties to which it usually leads under such circumstances, e. g. in Prussia as noted above. On the other hand there were a number of men who had strong characters and who continued to teach and to live the confession of faith in a truly remarkable way. Thus the colonies developed until the terrifying news reached the ears of the people that the Russian government had definitely decided to cancel the concessions made, even before one hundred years had ex-

pired. See especially Schmidt, *Reminiscences* pp. 7-9 for the curious international complications caused by Russia's move. Prof. C.H. Wedel is credited with the statement that there is evidence that the Mennonites were at first under the impression that their privileges were to be good "forever" instead of merely a century, as the government interpreted the matter when it at first sought to abrogate the concessions made. I have not found such a statement in print, however, nor any reference to the supposed fact that the Russian words for "Century" and for "Eternal" are identical, though the latter fact may be inferred from p. 6, "Eine Deputationsreise": "In Russland glaubte man, durch ein ewiges Privilegium das ihnen im Jahre 1800 vom Kaiser Paul verbrieft wurde, der Anfechtung enthoben zu sein."

Up to this time America was scarcely known to these Mennonites in Russia. There was a division of sentiment here as there

had been in Prussia about 90 years before. Some were in favor of conceding a point or two and remaining but others were unable to make up their minds to such a step and therefore began looking for another country. Their motive was not an economic one for they had to leave well established homes and villages at a great sacrifice and go on a long, tedious, dangerous and therefore unwelcome journey in Again they sent out representatives to report to them as to conditions. Twelve men were therefore sent to America. Before these started efforts were made to dissuade the Mennonites from carrying out their plans. But the actual and trustworthy promises made were of such a nature that the disquiet once started was hard to quell and therefore these men started for America near the end of April 1873 with full power to act within the following conditions: (these conditions are here given in the German, copied from the report of one of the twelve, Rev. Leonhard Suder-

mann, in his "Eine Deputationsreise"

a) Gesetzliche Zusicherung vollkommener Religionsfreiheit und was für uns genau damit zusammenhängt, vollständige Befreiung von jeder Art Militärdienst.

b) Land, sowohl an Qualität wie auch in Bezug auf Quantität unsern Bedürfnissen, die Ihnen hinlänglich bekannt sind, entsprechend, sei es nun unentgeltlich oder auch teilweise gegen Bezahlung mässiger Preise unter möglichst leichten Bedingungen, die Zahlungsstermine betreffend.

c) Zusicherung einer ähnlichen abgeschlossenen Gemeindeverfassung mit dem Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache in unsern selbstgewählten Vorständen, wie wir es hier bis jetzt hatten.

d) Nicht unerlässlich, aber wünschenswert und zur Förderung der Auswanderung an und für sich wäre die Erleichterung resp. Herabsetzung des Ueberfahrts-geldes von Russland nach Amerika, wie sie uns schon von Seiten

der kanadischen Regierung in Aussicht gestellt ist.

It is interesting to note how carefully and how conscientiously these men investigated various portions of the North America, beginning with Manitoba. They noted carefully the conditions of the soil, climate, inhabitants, water, rivers, crops, schools, churches, etc., etc. They were very much in a hurry to get through with their arduous task and return to their homes but they never traveled on Sunday. The concessions of the Canadian Government were alluring enough to cause the representatives of the so-called "Bergthal" church in Russia to decide for Manitoba. This church later came over in 3 groups and settled in Manitoba. The representatives found it advantageous to separate and thus save time. The following states and territories were visited by members of this group with a view of finding settlements for their people in Russia: Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa and Texas. Some of

the Mennonites whom these men represented later settled in every one of the named states but Iowa and Texas.

The names of these 12 men were: Wilhelm Ewert, Jacob Buller, Tobias Unruh, Andreas Schrag, Jacob Peters, Heinrich Wiebe, Cornel. Bour, Cornelius Toews, David Claassen, Paul Tschetter, Lorenz Tschetter, Leonhard Sudermann. They represented the different villages which contained such as considered a change and when the settlements had been made here in America they found themselves scattered over a great deal of territory.

The report of these men was favorable enough to cause a great many Mennonites to leave Russia within a few years. It is difficult to tell definitely just how many immigrated because no definite record seems to have been kept and those who were able to make the best estimate differ as to the number who arrived. Prof. Wedel thinks that there were approximately 10,000 persons, or 1200 families who came

from Russia and from Prussia between 1873 and 1880, and locates them as follows: Kansas 500 families; Nebraska 100 families; Minnesota 100 families, the Dakotas 200 families, 230 families to Manitoba. He evidently makes allowance for other families who scattered here and there in other states. C. B. Schmidt, who was at that time immigration agent for the A. T. & S. F. R. R. estimates the number for Kansas alone to have been 15,000. The Annals of Kansas quote Schmidt as saying that there were 6000 Mennonites living in the Arkansas Valley on July 15, 1877. This would include practically all of the Mennonites then in Kansas, including those who had come from Illinois, Iowa, Ohio, as well as those who came from Russia and Prussia. Many people have made the mistake in thinking that all Mennonites came from Russia, but Schmidt should not have made this mistake because of his long experience with them. Of the two men quoted Wedel was probably a little conservative,

as was his nature to be, and Schmidt, who was not of Mennonite stock, may have allowed his enthusiasm to place the number sufficiently high to make sure that no one had been overlooked. Wilder in the Annals of Kansas has entries totaling 2101 as passing through Topeka, Kansas, on their way to the central and the southwest part of the state, from Sept. 8, 1874 to August 10, 1875. This number again is undoubtedly too small as there were a number who came after the last date mentioned. I am inclined to accept Wedel's estimate of 10,000 as the most nearly correct, as he was one of those who came from Russia and was very careful in his work and his estimates. Rev. S. F. Sprunger also agrees with this estimate thinking that there were at least 10,000. Smith, however, states that there were about 1200 families who came over in 1874 and that there were 7383 persons in Manitoba alone in August 1879 and that this was but about half the number which came over dur-

ing the years from 1874-1879. His authority is the Herald of Truth, January, 1877, and August, 1879.

The Mennonites who were already in America did much to relieve the sufferings of these people, for most of them came with little in the way of earthly possessions. Wedel estimates that the value of the aid rendered through the committee of the Mennonites of the United States amounted to \$100,000.00. The Russian Government had done much to prevent their coming, the petty officers had relieved them of a great deal of money in order not to stand in their way and, in many cases the properties were still unsold, or the payments not yet made. We find that the Bergthal church which settled in Manitoba decided to go in three companies the last to dispose of the land and to bring the money. Meanwhile the rest had to do the best they could in a new country, and meet disappointment later when they found out that their village was burned before the last party had an opportunity to leave,

and to find that a man whom they had entrusted with the collections did as he was told about the collecting but failed to remit to them. There were other hardships to endure. Unscrupulous men were ready to defraud them wherever there was an opportunity. Rev. David Goerz deserves much credit in that he came over early and became a great help to others by meeting them in New York and directing them to the proper places. He and others, especially B. Warkentin, C. Krehbiel and J. F. Funk also saw to it that the collected money was properly placed. It is noteworthy in this connection that these people accepted the proffered money as a loan and not only promised to pay but actually paid the money back to their brethern who had been in America before them and to the Canadian Government in case of those who settled in Manitoba. Prof. Wedel told me at one time that with respect to the latter payment there had been some surprise manifested among the officials of the Canadian Govern-

ment when the Mennonites appeared to pay the money and that one of the officers had said that he had never yet seen people who had borrowed money under such circumstances who had not supposed that the government would some day vote the loan as a gift. What seems to have surprised these men most, however, was the fact that the Mennonites paid as soon as possible, or within 15 years, which was doing well considering the fact that they had a number of failures because of grasshoppers, wet seasons, frosts, etc. Not all of the gifts consisted in money and the repayment refers only to the cash advances.

The people who had settled in the States had similar hardships to endure, but they did not lose courage. They lived simply, worked hard, and trusted the Lord to do His share if they did their's. They had a lot of mother wit and sound humor. Americans were often pleased with these qualities. One phrase has become a proverb in Kansas. If I am not

mistaken it was first used by one of their best farmer-teacher-ministers, familiarly known as "Lehrer Richert," who when he was asked why they raised so much better wheat than their American neighbors, replied that it was because they "plowed the dew under." This man was the father of a large family and became the father and grandfather of a dozen or more successful ministers, missionaries, teachers, or wives of such. There were a number of such men among these people, men who learned to adapt themselves quickly and quietly to new circumstances. There were others also, and it is not to the credit of the colonies in Kansas, the Dakotas and Manitoba that these early leaders were not only not appreciated but often neglected and abused. However, that was a natural result of the conditions under which they had lived in Russia. On the whole, however, the people were frugal, and upright in their dealings with others. Some of them soon became prominent as business men, e. g.,

Mr. Warkentin, who imported the Turkey wheat from Russia and thereby became a great benefactor to the farmers of the west, Mr. Peter Jansen, who is known as a successful business man and progressive citizen of Nebraska. When a town named for him was laid out he made out his deeds with an additional clause prohibiting the sale of intoxicants on the premises, and making forfeiture of the land the penalty for ignoring this clause. This shows one strong trait among these people. Mr. Jansen has served his state in the legislature, was appointed by President McKinley as one of the 12 commissioners to the Paris Exposition, and in other ways has rendered efficient public service. Many people of the denomination have objected to such service as being un-Mennonite, but their objections cannot hold good for the entire denomination, though they do constitute one of its problems. Other men have been pioneers in the field of education within their realm thus helping very mate-

rially in solving some of the problems which so often arise for the state or the community when a colony of foreigners come into their midst.

The State of Kansas passed an act exempting Mennonites and Friends from military service on March 10, 1874. This was probably an answer to the request of the 12 representatives who had been here in 1873.

The colonies were often visited in the early days by those to whom the Mennonites were a curiosity and these visitors usually came away with much enthusiasm for the character and efficiency of these people, among these visitors were Noble Prentiss, a newspaper man from Kansas City, who wrote two widely read articles on the Mennonites, one "The Mennonites at Home in the Commonwealth" in 1875 and another "The Southwestern Letter" published in 1882. He had not seen the Mennonites in the meantime and was much surprised at their progress, and seemed to fear

nothing more than that the new surrounding should lead to a loss of the noble qualities of these men in their children. W. R. Miller in his "The Peopling of Kansas" found them good pioneers, industrious, thrifty, not venturesome and well calculated to succeed on a soil such as Kansas possesses. Mr. C. L. Berneys, a Roman Catholic, reports a visit to these people in "Der Deutsche Pionier." He visited in their homes and was much impressed with them as people and with the reasons for coming to this country. He states the reasons briefly: 1) that as peace-loving people they did not want their sons to serve in the army but that the Russian Government did not want to grant this liberty. 2) that they had no title of ownership to their land in Russia and could not get one though they had made garden spots out of the desert.

In regard to the latter point he may have misunderstood his informants, or the particular men with whom he spoke may not have been land owners, as most

of them seem not to have been, or were led to believe that they were not, by petty Russian officers. This matter of uncertainty, I have frequently been told by some of the immigrants, had been a distressing matter to them for many years. Mr. Berneys was so enthusiastic over what he had seen and heard that he wrote that Kansas would be willing to accept 100,000 more of such "rüh-riger, mässiger und in ihrem Thun und Lassen besonnener Bewohner", if Russia could spare them. He was also impressed with the fact that they introduced the mulberry, a large variety of blackberry and apricots and succeeded in making them grow and bear in dry Kansas. He marvelled at their adaptation to new surroundings and the adoption of the better American tools, etc.

The estimates thus far given were produced for the purpose of showing the kind of immigrants who came here and were known as Mennonites. Their number has not been sufficiently large nor was their character, on the

whole such as to constitute them a serious problem to the new land of their adoption. Their greatest possibility as a problem lay in another direction,—they were likely to become a problem to themselves; coming from so many different countries; Switzerland, Alsace, the Rhenish and Bavarian Palatinate, Baden, Württemberg, Holland, Poland, Austria Hungary, Russia and France, and coming, more or less intermittently during a period of more than 200 years, usually for the sake of religious liberty, though sometimes also because of economic conditions here or abroad; settling in so many different places in America, they were likely to find themselves trained and still being trained to think so differently in matters of every day life that the underlying unity springing from one confession of faith, was almost sure to be put to a test sooner or later. With the exception of those coming from France, and these were very few in number, the Mennonites all spoke German, but in so

many different dialects, that when they met they found it difficult to feel perfectly natural in each other's presence. This may seem insignificant enough in itself but is at the bottom of a problem which soon called forth considerable serious discussion and effected the relationships of the various groups toward each other. Then there was the fact that, while most of them settled in large groups and therefore were able to adhere for a long time to the customs brought from the European community in which they had lived, there were such who early came into close touch with other people and therefore naturally became "different," a term which has a rather unwelcome sound for conservative ears. The differences of social standing in Europe were soon felt here, e. g., the descendants of those Mennonites who remained in Prussia when so many went to Russia during the last two decades of the 18th century came to America with a kind of social polish which some of the other immigrants

coming about the same time, lacked in a very high degree; then too, there was the difference which the newcomers noticed in those who had been here a long time. Such were the factors which made even the Mennonites themselves feel that somehow they were not well mated in spite of their confession of faith to which they all adhered. In addition to this came the question whether their confession of faith would fare better in this land of freedom than it had in the various countries of Europe.

This insight into the minds of the Mennonites of 30-35 years ago is given here because it reveals the kind of thinking which occupied their minds very much and therefore would naturally have some effect upon the kind of citizens which would eventually evolve for the United States and Canada. Naturally some of the native born Mennonites would be little affected, and yet the coming of so large a number in so short a time tended to emphasize points

anew which had, to some extent at least, become somewhat obliterated.

